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Analysis of the Bengali Poem Ráj Málá, or Chronicles of Tripurá.
By the Rev. JAMES LONG.

Dr. Wise of Dacca having presented to the Asiatic Society the Ráj Málá, an ancient Historical poem in Bengali verse, I was requested by the Society to report on it, and also to furnish them with an analysis of the original for the Journal, in order to enable the members to judge of the subject of the poem itself. I hope one day to see the Bengali printed, as though interspersed with a variety of legends and myths, it gives us a picture of the state of Hindu society and customs in a country little known to Europeans,—Tripurá, the Highlands of Bengal, the last country that yielded to the tide of Moslem invasion, and which in its mountain fastnesses retained for so long a period the Hindu traditions unmixed with views that might stream in from other countries. It had been long the chosen abode of Śivism, the aboriginal religion having been supplanted by the latter system, as is indicated by the myth which represents Śiva destroying the Asura Tripurá, and Tripurá as being the favourite residence of Śiva, a *pit̤hasthán*—the right leg of Sati having fallen there. The Bráhmans exercised as arbitrary sway over the minds of the hill chieftains as ever did Druid on the customs of our Celtic ancestors.

"The embroidery of imagination does not entirely conceal the ground-work of truth." The remark made by Richardson, the compiler of the Persian Dictionary, is fully applicable to such works as the Ráj Málá, the

Raghu Vaṅsa, &c. "The Sháh Námá, like Homer, when stript of the machinery of supernatural beings, contains much of true history, and a most undoubted picture of the superstition and manners of the times." In all the great historians of antiquity we have facts mixed up with fable, yet we do not reject Roman History notwithstanding the fictions connected with its early history, nor European history on account of the tales told of Charlemagne under the name of Turpin,—why should we not make the same concession with respect to the events connected with Ráma Chandra, the Peter the Great of his day? Ráma's invasion of the South is as firmly established a point as the Norman conquest, and his invasion of Ceylon is as authentic a fact as the siege of Troy. In truth the career of Ráma was one of far greater interest and importance to masses of mankind, than the foray of petty Grecian kings, though dressed up by the magic pen of Homer.

The professedly historical documents of the Hindus are few and meagre. It is chiefly by the clues given in such works as the Rámáyaṇa and Mahábhárata, where fact is blended with fable, as in the novels and poems of Sir W. Scott, that we can grope our way. Yet important data may be elicited even from such writings as these by careful investigation, as was effected by Todd in his Rájasthán, who obtained such useful materials from the poems of Chand and other bards of Ráj-putáná. Lassen in his valuable work, the Indische Alterthumskunde, has poured a flood of light on the ancient history and geography of India, derived from the references in the Mahábhárata; he has by a skilful analysis extracted, from a large mass of beautiful and interesting poetry, references which will be of great use to the historians of India, and has thus shown that Sanskrita poetry is not that aggregate of absurd and monstrous fiction that some would consider it to be; for instance the Rámáyaṇa has for its basis the expedition of Ráma to the South, who was the pioneer of civilization to the barbarous aborigines of the Dekhan. Like Peter the Great of Russia, he was obliged to use rough means with a rude people, in order to raise them to a higher status in society; Ráma played as important and useful a part on the world's theatre as either Æneas or Agamemnon, the familiar heroes of College reading.

The *Ráj Málá* or annals of Tripurá were compiled by Bráhmaṇs or the *pradhán mantris* of the Court of Tripurá. Though many of the Rájás despised writing as being what they considered a mere mecha-

nical art, yet like the Chinese emperors they provided for a record of the history of their empire by employing a bard in their Court, and though he bestowed lavish encomiums ou the characters of the reigning monarch, yet he affords us information occasionally on various interesting points. Thus for instance the women exhibit a very different character from those of Bengal generally, and in daring and moral prowess remind one of the females in Rájputáná or the Máhrátta country, though we have no account of any equalling Ahalyá Báï in benevolence.

The Rájmálá or history of Tripurá comes in opportunely at the present time, when such an anxiety is shewn by *Savans* to throw light on the manners, religion and history of India previous to the Mohammadan invasion, and also from the country described in the poem presenting various points of interest, whether we look at its position, having the Buddhist kingdoms to the South, the Chinese empire in the East, the ancient kingdom of Kámrup in Assam to the North, or the aboriginal tribes of its frontiers. Its mountain fastnesses and lonely jungles enabled its chieftains, like the Welsh of former times, or the Hugonots of the Cevennes, to maintain a spirit of resistance to intruders, and to preserve down to the last century Hindu manners and customs uninfluenced by the control of Moslem propagandism. Its rulers pride themselves on being of the lunar race, and in their descent from the chivalrous Kshetryas of Rájputáná* whose lofty bearing and prowess have been immortalised by the pen of Todd and Chand. While in Bengal the tide of foreign invasion has swept away almost all the ancient Hindu royal lines, the families of Vishṇupur and Tripurá have alone remained, though now "in the sere and yellow leaf."

The baleful influence of the Musalmáns on Hindu nationality has in no instance been more destructively exercised than in its having prevented during the Moslem sway all Hindu efforts for the formation of a vernacular literature. Animated by the same recklessness and disregard of consequenees which prompted the Norman conqueror to aim at the extirpation of the English language, the Moslem conquerers discouraged the use of every tongue but their favourite Arabic or Persian. This added to the proud disregard in which the *Prákrita*, the dialect of women and Râkshasas, was held by the

* Todd in his "Rájputáná" states, that Tripurá was one of the 84 mercantile tribes of Rájputáná.

Bráhmaṇs, is the cause why we have so few works in Bengali of an ancient date; Kírtibas's translation of the Rámáyaṇa, made two centuries ago, and the works relating to Chaitanya, are almost the only "fragments from the wreck of time" handed down to us.

That Noble Institution Fort William College,—though now shorn of its splendour, through the mercenary utilitarian policy of men who in the pride of Western assumption have frowned on such efforts to cultivate the classic tongues of the East,—fostered a few works treating of the history of this country: Ráma Lochan published his beautiful little work, a model for Bengali style, the history of Rájá Krishṇa Chandra Ráya of Nadiyá, which presents various interesting sketches of Bengal at the period of the battle of Plassey. The history of Rájá Pratápáditya of Jessore, compiled by another pandit of the same College, also gives us details respecting the Eastern part of Bengal two centuries ago, and of the large settlement and colony formed by Rájá Prátápáditya in a Sunderbund district to the South of Kálná. The Assam Buraṇjí is also of some use for historic purposes.

These are composed in Bengali, but there is one work translated into English from the Persian which gives us more information respecting the state of Bengal in the last century than any book that has been published yet, the *Seir Mutákharin*, which admits us behind the scenes in the Murshidábád Durbar, and paints to the life the manners and customs of the Bengal Moslems of that period; it was written by an eye witness, who, like the compilers of the *Ráj Taranginí* or Chronicles of Káshmir, has not shunned to point out the vices of men in high station.

The *Ráj Málá* is a curiosity as presenting us with the oldest specimen of Bengáli composition extant, the first part of it having been compiled in the beginning of the 15th century, the subsequent portions were composed at a more recent date. We may consider this then as the most ancient work in Bengali that has come down to us, as the *Chaitanya Charitámrita* was not written before 1557, and Kírtibás subsequently translated the Rámáyaṇa.

The first part of this *Ráj Málá* treats of THE TRADITIONAL PERIOD OF THE TRIPURA KINGS, which is mixed up with various mythological accounts; it informs us that the ancient name of Tripurá was Kirát (the Hunter) from a person of that name of the Lunar or Indo-

Scythian race, the brother of Puru, who was banished to the Eastern provinces by his father Yajáti who held the *Samrát* or supreme government of India. He built a city named Tribeg on the banks of the Kupal (Brahmaputra) and subsequently abdicating the throne, he retired to the jungles to devote his life to religious objects. His son Tripurá succeeded him, a profligate tyrant who oppressed the worshippers of *S*iva; his subjects reduced to poverty emigrated to Hirambu (Káchár), but returned after five years, as Hirambu the Rájá of Kámrup gave them no aid. On this they became votaries of *S*iva who promised them a son named Trilochan by the widow of Tripurá, who would be successful, provided he adhered to the worship of the Sun, and Moon, and that they worshipped at break of day, on certain occasions, the fourteen gods, i. e. the Sun, Moon, Himálaya, Kámadeva, Fire, Ganges, Water, Prabhá, Gaṇesha, Kártiká, Brahmá, Sarasvatí, *S*iva, and Vishṇu. In the course of time Trilochan was born and placed on the throne with the unanimous consent of the people, who waved two sacred banners over his head; he was distinguished for his wisdom, and the neighbouring kings paid him homage when he was ten years old: the Rájá of Hirambu offered him his daughter in marriage; he proceeded to Káchár where the marriage was celebrated with great pomp, and for nine days, food was supplied to every one at the king's expense: twelve sons were the fruit of the marriage.* Kámrup, called also Prágjyotisha, the *Kámákhyá* of Sanskrita literature, the region of love according to the Hindus, is famous from an early date; Bhagadatta king of Kámrup is mentioned as a warrior in the Mahábhárata; 18 centuries ago marriage alliances were formed between the royal families of Kámrup and Kashmir, the boundaries of the country were extensive, reaching South of the Brahmaputra from Bontáli to Kapálimukh, and on the North from the Karatyá river to the Díkolai. An account of Kámákhyá is given in the Káliká Puráṇa: it was the Káli Ghát of North Eastern Bengal.

On the death of the Rájá of Hirambu, a dispute arose among his grandsons as to who should succeed to the throne. On this Trilochan

* The heir to the throne of Tripurá has been always selected from this family, the family marks are a "middle size with a nose of moderate proportion, round body, ears well formed, large chest, small belly, with a neck like an elephant and legs like a plantain tree, arms round as a palm tree; these bodily qualities are to be combined with devotion to Vishṇu and *S*iva."

sent a messenger to the Dandis or priests of the famous College of Maháđeva in Ságar island* to state that Surjya would be present to listen to their prayers when they worshipped the fourteen gods. These priests refused at first to go to Tripurá until they heard that Tripurá, an enemy to the Bráhmaṇs was dead, and that Trilochan his successor being a devotee proposed going to Ságar island to convey them to his kingdom, attended by a large retinue. On their arrival they performed the usual ceremonies to the fourteen gods, together with the offering of buffaloes, ducks were sacrificed which were collected by the Keráts and Kukis. On the great day of the festival all the gods assembled with the exception of Vishṇu, the *Daṇdi* went to invite him, he came, and together with the other gods was so pleased that they promised always to protect the Tripurá Rájá. Trilochan after conquering various countries visited Yudhistir. He lived to an advanced age and was diligent in performing the following ceremonies, *Durgá-Pujá, Dol-Játrá, Jal-Játrá, Surjya-Pujá, Padma-Pujá, Bisava Saṇkránti.*†

* The temple of Kapil Muni stood in Ságar island since A. D. 430, but it was washed away by the sea in 1842; the island itself was once densely populated, and contained a population of 200,000, which was swept away by an inundation in 1689. I saw in the *Bibliotheque Royale* at Paris a Portuguese map of Bengal, drawn three centuries ago, which gave the name of five cities to the East of Ságar island on the borders of the sea, the ruins in the Sunderbunds confirm the truth of this description. Mention is made of Ságar island in the Mahábhárata 2600 years ago at least, which shows the antiquity of the shrine there: at that period the Ganges probably disembogued itself into the sea in that direction, flowing down near where Calcutta now stands. The point of confluence with the Ocean would give a sanctity to Kapil Muni's shrine which has been the resort of pilgrims probably long before the Christian era. The Ráj Málá states that the Dandis or Sannyásis "resided in the College of *S*iva in seclusion for their spiritual benefit, they bathed at day break, dried their clothes by exposure to the air, cooked their own food and were acquainted with all the mantras."

† Several of these *pujás* are not now in use, the *Surjya-Pujá*, like the *Agni-Hotra*, or maintenance of a perpetual sacred fire, has become obsolete; the last man of eminence we have heard of who observed it was Rájá Krishṇa Chandra Raya of Nadiyá, last century: it was one of the few remaining relics in the existing form of the Hindu religion which kept up a remembrance of the link between the ancient elementary worship of the Vedas and the Fire worship of the followers of Zoroaster. Hinduism can adapt itself to changes of circumstances, thus of late years we see the worship of *Olá-utá Debtá* or the goddess of Cholera.

Dakkhin succeeded in accordance with the wishes of the people and of his father Trilochan, but the eldest son was much annoyed at his brother's receiving almost an equal share of his father's property, only two being reserved for him and also that he did not succeed to the throne, being in Kachár at the time of his father's death. He in consequence declared war and gained a victory after a battle which lasted seven days, the eleven brothers fled to the Khalansha river where they founded a settlement. The brother died in a good old age when he was preparing to abdicate the throne in consequence of a rebellion that broke out.

Fifty-six monarchs succeeded him, whose names alone survive. Kumár, the fifty-seventh in succession visited Samalanagar "the dwelling place of *S*iva," who at that time fell violently in love with a Kuki. On *S*iva's wife hearing of it, she kicked the woman so violently as to break her neck. The Linga worship was in vogue on the banks of the Manu, but *S*iva vexed at the increasing wickedness, and at Rájeshwar, the 60th king of Tripurá in succession, shooting an arrow at his lingum because a son was refused to his prayers, declared he would no more visit Tripurá, though his foot marks should remain in the temples; he stated that the Rájá should have no son to succeed him, yet he promised if he offered up a human victim he would be propitious in other respects: the victim was procured with difficulty, for the people fled.*

Pratit the 69th Rájá, formed a strict treaty of alliance with the Rájá of Káchár on the subject of their boundaries, declaring that "the crow would assume a white colour sooner than they should infringe on each other's limits." The neighbouring chiefs fearing the effects of this alliance sowed dissension between them by means of a beautiful woman† whom they sent to the Rájá of Tripurá; the Rájá of Hirámbu became jealous and threatened to slit her nose and

* This indicates that the practice of human sacrifice could not have been very common at that time, and it also shews it was associated in Tripurá, as in other parts of India, with the worship of Siva.

† The women of Tripurá as well as *A*sám were not immured and coerced in the same way as Bengali females are; even in the present day in *A*sám "in most parts of the country the women of rank go about in public, quite divested of artificial modesty." The Burmese and Mug women also appear in public.

cut off her ears, a punishment which is often inflicted by husbands in the present day when they suspect their wives of intriguing. Jajárpha the 74th Rájá, invaded Rángámáti (Udipur). Nikka the king of Udipur with a disciplined army of 10,000 men assisted by the Kuki troops who erected stockades, fought against the Tripurá Rájá, but was defeated, and Udipur was made the capital of Tripurá. During the battle the Rájá in defiance of a prohibition laid on him in the Lochan Charitra against entering a hut, attacked the king of Udipur in one, as the latter entrenched his men in huts, thinking they would not be assailed. This conquest increased the Rájá's power and he proposed to invade Bengal, but had not the means to execute his plans; though his dominions are said to have stretched nearly as far as Amarapur in Burmah. The priests of *S*iva in his time were noted for their attention to the Shástras, drying their clothes by exposure to the air and then removing them with their own hands. Of the Rajá's immediate successors, little is recorded except that some had no sons on account of their wickedness.

In the reign of the 96th Rájá Sangthafah, a Chaudhuri (or principal man of a Hindu corporation,) having been plundered in Tripurá of money and jewels, which he was going to present as a tribute to the king of Gaur, laid a complaint before the Gaur monarch, who sent a powerful army against Tripurá, the king being frightened sued for peace. On this his wife highly indignant abused him for his cowardice, telling him she would fight for him. She said to the soldiers, Your king wants to act the part of a jackal, let those who wish to engage follow me. The troops all agreed, but first she ordered a dinner of buffaloes' and goats' flesh to be prepared for them by their wives, of which they all ate very heartily, the next morning they ate again and then proceeded against the enemy; after a severe conflict they completely routed the forces of the king of Gaur. After the battle, the Rájá while reposing on the tusks of an elephant* saw a bloody head dancing in the air, which indicated that a lakh of persons had lost their lives.

The queen of Khysángafah the 98th Rájá was acquainted with weaving which produced a beneficial effect on the kingdom. "Her son was so virtuous that he had eighteen sons," wishing to know which of them

* Some of the Hill tribes require their chiefs always to sleep with the head reclining on an elephant's tusks as a pillow.

was destined to succeed him, he one day after fasting directed that the person in charge of the fighting cocks should keep them fasting, while he and his sons were at dinner, on a signal given the thirty cocks were let loose and proceeded to touch the dinner which in consequence became defiled, but the youngest, Ratnáfah, threw some rice to the cocks, this prevented their coming and touching his food, and so decided that he was the most quick witted. He was sent after his father's death to travel, and went to Gaur, where he resided several years and was treated with great respect; returning with the aid of Mohammadan troops, he conquered the kingdom and beheaded his brother. This occurred probably in A. D. 1279, when Togral invaded Tripurá. Shortly after he obtained from the king of Gaur 4,000 troops to garrison his chief places and the title of Mánik, which the Rájás of Tripurá have retained ever since.

Dharma Mánik the 104th Rájá travelled as a fakir through various places; when at Benares his future exaltation was signified by a snake twined round his body with his head reared over his person. This is considered by the Hindus a presignification of future sovereignty; they derive the practice from the period when Bhagaván or Krishṇa slept in the Khiroda Samudra on the back of the snake Ananta who covered him with his expanded hood. Shortly after this, a deputation from Tripurá arrived at Benares, where they found the prince dressed as a fakir; they stated that the Rájá having died of small-pox, the troops would not allow the youngest son to be chosen in preference to the eldest, and he was appointed Rájá, A. D. 1407, with the unanimous consent of the people. "He soon sought the road to heaven" by presenting lands to the Bráhmaṇs, the titles to which were registered on copper-plates. After a peaceful reign of thirty-two years he died. Under his patronage the first part of the Ráj Málá or history of Tripurá kings was composed. His younger son was raised to the throne A. D. 1439, but was soon murdered by a faction, and his brother was elected king; the generals having always exercised great influence in the choice of a Rájá. By the advice of a priest, who told him leprous limbs ought to be cut off, he feigned sickness and being visited by the commanders he had them killed by soldiers who lay in wait in his palace. The fate of these generals, in the penalty they suffered for their imperious and intriguing conduct, resembled that of the Janizzaries of the Turkish

empire who were cut off at a stroke in 1826; like them and the Mamalukes of Egypt, these generals appear to have been always more or less involved in political intrigues. The people of Tripurá like the Sikhs were a military race, and their soldiers often played the same part as the Pretorian guards did in Rome. The Rájá subsequently invaded Bengal (some of his troops were taken prisoners by the king of Gaur who ordered them to be trampled to death by field elephants); he took Khandal and plundered it so thoroughly that the inhabitants were obliged to clothe themselves in the bark of trees; after this he returned and devoted himself to works of charity, endowing lands for Bráhmaṉs, giving marriage portions to their sons &c.; he dug a large tank at Kamilláh called *Dharma Ságar* which occupied him two years; he once gave a great feast to the Bráhmaṉs and their relations, they had to cook their own food; he ordered the commanders of the Kuki troops to count their men, they did so with a stick while they were eating, the Kukis were required by their law to drop eating, but through fear of losing their lives they swallowed the food which was in their mouth,—they have had a nick-name applied to them ever since on account of this.

In the city of Thánaṉsi which was the capital of Tripurá until the marauding expeditions of the Kukis caused it to be removed to some securer place,* a white elephant was caught, the king of Tripurá claimed it as his property, but the Rájá of Thánaṉsi refused to give it up, on this siege was laid to the town which lasted six months. Ráya Chachag the Tripurá General, was very much annoyed at this delay, he told his soldiers to betake themselves to the spinning wheel, and in order to stimulate their exertions he had their houses unroofed so as to let in the cold and rain. One day having caught a *guano* 12 feet

* The Kukis have long been noted for their fierce, barbarous manners: like the Indo-Chinese races they have flat noses, small eyes and broad round faces; their language has a strong affinity with that of the Mugs, and their tradition is that they and the Mugs are descended from the same ancestor. From their mountain eyrees they have often sallied down on the inhabitants of the plains and their adventures often remind one of the "border raids" so graphically described by Scott. Their history is almost a repetition of that of the North American Indians,—the quarrels of rival clans and occasional forays on the more civilized inhabitants of the plains. They were the Mahráttás of the Eastern districts of Bengal, but had not the energy or perseverance of the *Bargi lok.*

long, in order to find out the most accessible part of the fort, the soldiers tied a string to the animal's body and let it loose, it entered the fort and the string served as a clue to the soldiers who passed into the fort, the guards being drunk; all the males were put to death and the females were taken captive, Ráya Chachag then proceeded to the conquest of other countries to the East, he was accused by the Kukis of an attempt to make Samul an independent state, but was acquitted of the charge. In 1512 A. D. he conquered Chittagong and defeated the Gaur troops who defended it.

Haseyn Sháh sent a strong force from the twelve provinces of Bengal under the command of Gaur Málik, which took the fort of Maharkul; but the Bengal troops were repulsed before another fort. At the suggestion of an eunuch in the Tripurá army they made a dike of *Soná Mati* or red earth across the Gumti and bunding in the waters for three days, they then broke it down—the torrent caused all the Mogul troops to retreat. The Rájá Sri Dhyan in order to destroy the enemy offered up a human sacrifice, a black Chandál boy, to Báhbachari (the wife of *S*iva) on the banks of the Gumti, the head was thrown in among the enemy;* it is said this so pleased the goddess that at night she came among the Mogul troops and made so loud a noise as to create a panic, and the troops all fled from Chandigar. The Rájá marched on Chittagan, the enemy fled and he proceeded further in his conquests. Hoseyn Sháh sent another army under Hyten Khán to conquer Rángámáti, the capital of Tripurá, after a battle which lasted a day, the Tripurá troops were obliged to retreat; on this the Rájá summoned the Dáïn or witches to know why they did not aid him; the chief witch promised to stop the stream with her body, and then to rise up and let the torrent sweep away the enemy's troops.

* Human sacrifices prevailed at an early period in Tripurá, and even of late years strong suspicions have been entertained of the practice being occasionally observed at the shrine of Kámákhyá in Asám, and at Káli Ghát in Calcutta. But in no part of India were more human victims offered than in Tripurá, which appears to have been one of the strongest holds of Hinduism; the Eastern districts formed favourable settlements for the Bráhmaṇs as is shown by the magnificent architectural remains in Asám of the Hindu conquerors who entered that quarter probably from the North West, while colonies of Bráhmaṇs from Mithilá confirmed by the tie of religion what was begun with the sword.

The historical basis of this myth is probably that the Tripurá troops adopted the same practice as was employed by the Dutch against the Spaniards at the siege of Leyden, viz. breaking down embankments so that the hemmed in waters might sweep away the enemy. The enemy fled, when Hyten Khán arrived at the fort of Sogoria he declared, putting his hand on his head, that he who would conquer Tripurá ought to bring with him double the troops he had, he was degraded on his return to Gaur.

Sri Dharma having returned to his capital Rángámáti, worshipped the fourteen gods with great pomp, and directed that *human sacrifices* should be offered only triennially, in ancient times one thousand used to be sacrificed every year. He introduced musical teachers from Tirhut* and the Tripurá people, soon became proficients in a knowledge of song. He made an image of Bhubaneswarí of gold, weighing a maund, he placed cotton in her nostrils so that at the pujá time when the *Práṇa Pratishtá* ceremony is performed, her breath might blow it away, the people all cried out that a miracle had been performed, though a pipe perforating the body and in contact with the mouth of a priest accounts for the whole, we have many instances of similar tricks in Europe in the middle ages.† The Rájá was a great

* Tirhut, the ancient Mithilá which gave a wife to Ráma, seems in former days to have been a *point d' appui* for the Bráhmaṇs in the progress of their influence from North to South: Nadiyá derived its learning from Mithilá pandits, and the far famed Kámrup in Asám, the Paphian residence, received a colony of Bráhmaṇs from Mithilá, who effected the work of proselytism so effectually that "the priests maintained an authority, more exalted, more extensive than they had been able to engross in any other part of India." The temple of Kámákhyá near Gauháti is frequented by pilgrims from all parts of India, and is the only temple in those parts which boasts of its *Deva Dási* or temple women; it contains, it is said, 5,000 of these.

Though Bráhmanism spread itself in India chiefly by missionary colonies and conquest, yet proselytism was resorted to largely as the histories both of Asám and Tripurá show, it seems in its course from the North to have taken as successive centres of action, Kashmir, Aude, Tirhut and Nadiyá.

† Much injury has been done to the cause of truth by ignorant assertions, such as that the Hindus regard the pieces of stone or clay that they worship to be gods, this is confuted by the fact that the *Práṇa Pratisthá* or infusion of divinity into an idol is a ceremony without which no sanctity is attributed to it, as may be seen at the time of the Durgá Pujá and other Pujás when the idols are flung into the river after the

worshipper of the lingam, and erected many temples; on one occasion after the bricklayers finished some temples, they admitted they could make them of better materials, the Rájá indignant at their not erecting for him the best temples ordered his attendants to put them to death. The Rájá lived to a good old age, a great worshipper of the lingam; he died of small-pox and his wife performed Sati.

His son Déb Mánik succeeded and marched to Chittagong; on his return he offered a human sacrifice: while worshipping the fourteen gods in the place of cremation, the officiating Bráhmaṇ induced a man to personate *Siva* and to direct the Rájá to kill his eight champions as a sacrifice, which he did, but soon afterwards finding out that the Bráhmaṇ had practised a deception he intended to kill him, but the Bráhmaṇ anticipated him and deprived the Rájá of life, giving out that he had been killed by the fourteen gods in consequence of not performing their worship with proper ceremonies. This Bráhmaṇ carried on an intrigue with the youngest wife of the late king and the two secured the power in their own hands, but it was of short duration, as the people being indignant with the prime minister assassinated him in his palankin, the pseudo Rájá and his mother were also killed, and were all buried in one grave. The young Rájá who succeeded, finding himself treated as a puppet by the prime minister had him assassinated by one of his favorites who intoxicated him with spirits after dinner. Braja Mánik the young Rájá now made various conquests, the Rájás of Kasyá and Silhet did him homage, the former presented five elephants and ten horses as a mark of vassalage, but the Rájá being vexed at the insolence of the Kasyá prince sent an army of 1,200 Háris or Mehtars, to fight against him with *Kodális* or spades; the Rájá, feeling that great disgrace was to be inflicted on him, persuaded the Rájá of Hirambu to intercede for him, who obtained his pardon and the Mehtars were stopped as they were on their march to Jayntiá.

deity takes its departure from them. This is probably a remnant of that primitive form of Sabian idolatry by which the planets were worshipped as being the residences of certain deities. But whether we regard the defence set up for Hindu idolatry on the Pantheistic grounds, that God being in all matter every thing is part of him, or that *idols* are symbolic ladders to lead the vulgar from sense to spirit, we see enough to show us that popular idolatry may flourish side by side with a cold system of Deism.

One thousand Páthán horsemen revolted from the Rájá, owing to the arrears of wages not being paid up; they were on their march to Chittagong, and attempted to kill the Rájá and take Rángámáti, but were secured and the greater part were offered up as sacrifices to the fourteen gods. The king of Gaur sent 3,000 horse and 10,000 foot to Chittagong, the war lasted eight months. In one engagement the Tripurá troops lost their general, Mohammed Khán the general of the king of Gaur was however taken prisoner confined in an iron cage and at the instigation of the head Bráhmaṇ priest, was sacrificed to the fourteen gods.

At this time Bijaya Rájá of Tripurá marched to Bengal with an army composed of 26,000 infantry, and 5,000 horse besides artillery; he went by 5,000 boats along the streams Brahmaputra and Lakhi to the Padmá; at Sonárgán, where he spent several days revelling in licentiousness, he took into his seraglio many beautiful young women; he crossed the Brahmaputra by a bridge of boats and invaded Sylhet, where he dug several tanks, but his soldiers were very fond of plundering the people and one day they destroyed a village, the natives all fled, with the exception of a woman who caught one of the plunderers by the leg, he tied her by her hair to a post so that she could not move, on her husband returning in his indignation he beat the trooper so severely that he died; the Rájá ordered all the natives of that village to be punished; after making presents to the Bráhmaṇs he returned to his capital Rángámáti where he devoted one day to distributing gifts called *Kalpa-taru*,* i. e. whatever request any one makes to the Rájá he is to obtain it, but this is limited to one day and only a select number are admitted into the palace to make application. The astrologer having declared that his youngest son Ananta would succeed to the throne, the Rájá sent his eldest son on a pilgrimage to Orissa. Ananta married the daughter of Gupi Prasád, the commander-in-chief;†

* The Kalpa-taru or *Kalpa-brikshya* was one of the fabled trees of Indra's heaven, eating the fruit of which would effect the accomplishment of any wish, like the *Kámadhenu* or cow of plenty mentioned in the *Raghu Vansa*. The English fairy tales give us a similar object in Fortunatus' wishing cap, while the Arabian Nights abound with references to this. Probably some floating traditions respecting the tree of knowledge in the garden of Eden may have given rise to this notion of the Kalpa-brikshya.

† This man's life shews how men of low origin often rise to power. In these times Gupi was originally the Rájá's Gomásthá at Dharmanagar, while there he

his father soon after died of small pox having reigned 47 years, his corpse was followed to the pyre by a great number of women.

Ananta Mánik succeeded to the throne by the help of his father-in-law the quondam cook, with whom Ananta always dined. After the king reigned 1½ years he was strangled at the instigation of his father-in-law who mounted the throne under the title of *Udaya Mánik*. His daughter demanded to burn as a *sati* with her husband, but this was refused, she then claimed the throne and was allowed to be *Ráni* of Chandipur, while Udaya made Rángámati his capital, which he adorned with beautiful buildings, temples, and tanks, changing its name to Udayapur. He kept 240 wives who were so dissolute that they persuaded not only other men but even the prince of Gaur to cohabit with them, as he was on a visit to the Rájá of Tripurá. When the Rájá heard of it, he had some of them trampled to death by elephants, and others devoured alive by dogs. As the Patáns were marching on Chittagong, the Tripurá troops were sent to attack them, which they did during the night, notwithstanding the unfavourable omens of the flapping of the vulture's wings, falling of fire from the sky and the barking of foxes. The Tripurá troops were routed with a loss of 40,000 men while the Patáns lost only 5,000. The war lasted for five years. Udaya Mánik died five years after this from having taken a poisoned pill of quicksilver given by a woman. At this period numbers died from famine and from disease the result of it.

Jaya Mánik, the son of the late king, succeeded, but only nominally, as his uncle Runág Náráyaṇ had the real power; as the latter saw that Amara Mánik had great influence, he asked him one day to dinner with the intention of intoxicating and then killing him, but a friend at table by cutting the stalk of a pán leaf hinted to him the intention of his enemies, he pretended to be unwell retired from table and went instantly to the stable—but the horse was gone! on this he seized by force the horse of a Khaista and made his escape. He soon rallied his friend's sons around him and proceeded to attack Runág, he provided each of his soldiers with a piece of cloth 9 feet long to strangle their enemies

climbed a tree belonging to a Bráhmaṇ who beat him so severely that he was driven from the place in great disgrace, he became a cook to the Rájá, then a Chaukidár, afterwards having taken an oath on the Sálagrám he was appointed Commander-in-Chief and his daughter was subsequently married to the Rájá's son.

in the same way as Runág had intended to strangle him. Runág being in a fort sent to his brother for troops, but a forged letter was carried by the messenger and the brother was so joyous on receiving it that he prostrated himself on the ground, the messenger on this as instructed, cut his head off and it was thrown into the fort, this so terrified Runág that he ran away to an uninhabited place, his enemies found him subsequently in a tank where he had been for two days immersed up to his chin having his head covered with a rice pot, the head was cut off by a soldier and carried to Amara Mánik who gave him the name of Sáhas Náráyan. Jaya Mánik sent to ask why he had killed his relation, he answered by dispatching troops against the Rájá, who fled and was overtaken: his head was cut off.

Amara Mánik mounted the throne, he was the brother of Bijaya Mánik, his mother was a private individual whom his father fell in love with, struck one day with her beauty as she was drying her hair in the sun. Amara Mánik resolved on virtuous deeds by digging tanks; he ordered all the landlords of his kingdom to send coolies for this purpose, accordingly nine zemindárs sent 7,300 coolies. The zemindár of Taraf in Sylhet refused, an army of 22,000 men was sent against him, his son was taken prisoner, put into a cage, and brought to Udayapur. The Rájá next (A. D. 1582) marched an army against the Mohammedan commander of Sylhet, whom he defeated. The order of the troops in battle resembled in figure the sacred bird Gaḍuḍa, the two generals in the van represented the beak,—the troops on the flanks the wing, and the main army the body; during the fight both parties became fatigued when a suspension of arms took place by mutual agreement; they afterwards resumed the battle, when the Musalmáns were defeated. Sylhet from this time (A. D. 1514) became tributary to Tripurá. The Rájá next defeated the zemindárs of Balarám who refused to submit, on the ground that Amara Mánik was not of the royal line, but he was also defeated. On this occasion a Bráhmaṇ was accidentally killed, which caused great grief through the kingdom and the king made a private atonement for it. After this he sacked the fine city of Báklá and sold the men as slaves. He then returned to his capital and performed a grand ceremony on the completion of his tank as also the ceremony of *túla* or presenting to a Bráhmaṇ gold of the same weight with his own body.

While the Tripurá people were enjoying the seclusion arising from their insulated position a new enemy, the Muhammadans, made their appearance and invaded the country, A. D. 1587. Delay in defending the land was at first caused by the Tripurá commander Isséh Khán waiting for a lucky day, but at last he obtained the consent of the Viziers to furnish him with troops, and he also won the favour of the *Ráni* who tested his sincerity by giving him the water in which she had washed her body: he drank it. 12,000 troops marched against the Musalmáns who fled without coming to action.*

The *Bhút* or *Devils* are said to have been hostile to the Rájá at this time, because he cut down *Bat* trees under which they dwelt, their presence having been known by the trees shaking without any natural cause. When the Rájá cut down the trees, water gushed out which formed a lake and in order to appease the anger of these Devils he offered up human sacrifices, but in vain, on the banks of the tank. The people were greatly alarmed at this time, at the spread of rumours that 125 boys must be immolated to propitiate the devils, and that Udipur and the whole country would be destroyed by an inundation.

The Rájá subsequently declared war against Arrakan, invaded it and took many places, he was repulsed by a junction of the *Mug* troops with the *Portuguese*,† but he regained his ground; the Rájá sent a letter to the king of Arrakan, challenging his troops to battle, the latter replied that he would postpone fighting till next year; the Rájá

* This presents a wide contrast to the behaviour of the Bengalis when invaded by Bakhtiyár Khiliji, the Muhammadans met with no resistance; but this must be stated on the other side that Nadyá was deserted previously by the nobles owing to a conviction that resistance would be vain. However in one place the Bengalis subsequently fought for their independance—on the field of Panduá near the Burdwan road,—the casus belli was—the Hindus finding the bones of a cow which had afforded the materials for a feast to the Muhammadans, in revenge killed a Muhammadan child, troops were marched against the Hindu Rájá of Peruyá, and after a hard contested battle the last spark of Bengali independance was extinguished.

† This is the first notice taken of the Portuguese, though they had come into Bengal in 1566, as mercenary troops in the service of the king of Gaur. They carried on a system of plunder and piracy which would have disgraced even the buccaneers of the West Indies, the desolate state of the Sundarbans, now the abode of alligators and tigers, but once affording a residence to an industrious and numerous population, bear witness to the depredations of the Portuguese.

concurred in this and both agreed to fight before the celebration of the Durgá Pujá, in order that the slain might be offered as sacrifices to Durgá. The Tripurá troops accordingly retired into winter quarters. But Sekandar Sháh the king of the Mugs did not wait for the Durgá Pujá, he invaded and took Chittagan. The Rájá of Tripurá sent an army under the command of his three sons to repel them. On this the king of the Mugs wished to make peace and sent the brothers a crown of ivory as a present, a dispute arose among them as to who should possess it, and one who lost it abused the Mugs. This led to a battle, the Mugs were defended by stockades, and on Jagier, one of the Rájá's sons, attempting to mount a wounded elephant, the animal maddened with pain, seeing his ornaments seized him and trampled him to death: the Tripurá soldiers fled; another battle was fought which was gained by the Mugs in consequence of a disagreement between two thousand Patan cavalry. The Mugs marched on to Udipur which they plundered, A. D. 1587, the Rájá fled to the forests of Dum Ghát.* In consequence of these misfortunes, as well as from bad omens and unpleasant dreams, the Rájá resolved to destroy himself, having bathed in "the sacred Mani river," he swallowed a quantity of opium and died, in the course of a day.

He was succeeded by his son Rájadhara Mánik, the Ráṇi his mother performed Sati "decorating her person with all her ornaments and directing Ráma's name to be written on her body." Rájadhar in opposition to the wish of his nobles gave away much land to the Bráhmaṇs stating that iṇ his old age he might not be able to do so; he was an enthusiastic Vishṇuvite, employing eight singers to chaunt the praises of Hari day and night. He did not perform the most trivial action without the order of his head Bráhmaṇ. He erected a temple to Vishṇu and surrounded it with a flower and fruit garden in which he worshipped every day. Adin Tagrul king of Gaur thinking him

* The Mugs are of the same race with the Kukis to whose language the Mug bears a strong affinity. They have at various times exhibited a considerable amount of energy, and at one period they contended with the Burmese for the sovereignty of Asám. They resemble in their career the Mahráttás, but history does not hand down to us any great leaders; being governed in the patriarchal mode by chieftains and divided into clans, they could not bring a centralising power to bear on their conquests.

peaceable, sent troops to plunder the country, but they were repulsed. The Rájá one day absorbed in meditation, while walking on the banks of the river Gumti and drinking the water in which the image of Vishṇu had been washed, fell into the river and was drowned.

Jashadhara Mánik succeeded him, A. D. 1591. Haseyn Sháh king of the Mugs, continued at war with him for twenty-one years, and the Muhammadans by the direction of Jehángir, who wanted horses and elephants, invaded Tripurá; the Moguls proved victorious headed by the Nawab Fatteh Jang, the capital was taken and the Rájá was sent a prisoner to Delhi: he was allowed to go on pilgrimage to Benares, Allahábád, Mathrá, Brindában, and was offered his throne again on condition of paying tribute in horses and elephants, but he declined, saying, his country was too much impoverished by the devastations of the soldiers to allow of being taxed. He died at Brindában of fever in the seventy-second year of his age "while meditating on the excellency of Vishṇu," his body was burnt with costly perfumes.

In the meanwhile the Mogul troops were guilty of great atrocities in Tripurá, plundering the temples and robbing the inhabitants, they even drained the tanks in search of treasure; they continued this course for two years and a half, until a dreadful plague caused them to leave the country.* Kalyán Mánik was raised by the nobles to the throne, in the year 1625; he coined mohurs in *S*iva's name and his own, he made a tour of his dominions distributing money and land to the Bráhmaṇs whom he held in such reverence that he made them eat before him, he was also kind to the poor and equitable to his subjects. The emperor of Delhi finding he refused to pay tribute directed the Nawáb of Murshidábád to send an army against Tripurá, the troops carried with them a famous cannon made of *leather*, but they were

* It is owing to similar conduct of the Musalmáns as well as the effects of climate that we have so few remains of antiquity in Bengal. No regard was paid to any thing Hindu. In Gaur which is said to have been the capital of Bengal 750 B. C. almost every Hindu monument has disappeared long since, having been either destroyed or used for Muhammadan purposes. The policy of the Muhammadans in Bengal was like that of Edward the Third towards the Scotch,—the destruction of every remnant of a people's nationality and ancient memorials; the Muhammadans made an effort, but a vain one, to extirpate the Bengali language by making the Persian the only one recognised by Government and discountenancing every effort to create a Bengali literature.

defeated. The Rájá then applied himself to devotional objects, he observed the ceremony of *tulá,** gave presents of horses, elephants, &c. to the Bráhmaṇs and particularly to those who came from Mathrá, Benares, and Orissa, he paid the travelling expenses of those Bráhmaṇs who were desirous of making a pilgrimage. He died A. D. 1659.

We make a passing remark that though Bakhtiyár Khiliji the conqueror of Nadiyá, invaded Asám, he found the people not the feeble race he had met with at Nadiyá, and retired broken-hearted from defeat. It was not until a late period the Musalmáns entered Tripurá led by a desire to obtain elephants which they wanted for military purposes.

A. D. 1659, Gobinda Mánik mounted the Tripurá throne, his wife was a devotee who dug a tank called after her own name, she had also coined mohars in which her own name was on one side, that of the Rájá and Sivá's on the other. The step-brother of the Rájá, having obtained assistance from the Nawáb of Murshidábád attempted to gain possession of the throne; the Rájá being a peaceable man and not wishing to fight with a relative, fled to the king of Árákán, who gave him an hospitable reception, and Chattra Mánik obtained possession of the throne, but he died of small-pox after a reign of seven years.

While Gobind was at Árákán, Sháh Sujá, the son of the emperor Sháh Jehán, came there; having been defeated by his brother and disgusted with the world, he marched through Tripurá to Árákán in order to embark thence for Mecca where he intended to end his days, he was received very kindly by the ex-Rájá of Tripurá who gave him a Nimchá sword as a mark of his gratitude. But the king of Árákán pretending that Sháh Sujá had conspired against his life by sending soldiers in disguise into his palace in *dulis,* in order to assassinate him, resolved to kill him, but being a Buddhist he could not shed blood except in battle, he had him therefore bound and put into a boat on the river, a plank being taken out of the boat it sank with Sujá fast bound in her, the King satisfying his conscience by drowning him, and not shedding his blood; the consort of Sujá plunged a dagger into her bosom rather than submit to the embraces of the Rájá of Árákán; while her daughters poisoned themselves.

* Since Hindus have ceased to be the rulers of India the ceremony of *tulá* to the great pecuniary loss of the Bráhmaṇs has ceased to be observed in India: it consisted in the king's giving his own weight of gold or silver to the Bráhmaṇs.

The usurper having died, Gobiuda was again elected to the throne; he sold the sword given him by Sháh Sujá, and devoted the money to objects of utility; he gave presents of salt to all the people of Udipur, cultivated the wastes of Maharkul, and granted land at a reduced rent to the Bráhmaṇs, confirming his donation on copper-plates; he died much regretted, and was succeeded by his son. During his reign intrigues were made with the Nawáb of Murshidábád* to dispossess him of the throne—but in vain.

Ratna Mánik succeeded when only five years old, when he grew up he married one hundred and twenty wives; the heir apparent was guilty of great cruelty, on which account Shaistá Khán, Nawáb of Bengal, took him prisoner and sent him to Delhi.

Nareudra Mánik usurped the throne through his influence with the Nawáb of Dacca, but his deceit being found out, the Nawáb deposed him and reinstated the former Rájá; but he did not hold it long, as his brother by intriguing with the Nawáb of Murshidábád gained the throne; his ministers telling him that as two tigers cannot remain in the same jangal, nor one wife with two husbands, so neither could he remain with the old Rájá; he therefore had him strangled, but after that period he never enjoyed peace, being haunted with dreams of some person strangling him in the same way as he had strangled his brother, he gradually wasted away in flesh.

Dharma Mánik succeeded. The Nawáb of Murshidábád having deprived him of a large portion of territory on the plains, locating Mogul zemindars in them, and the Mogul troops at Udipur proving a great annoyance, the Rájá resolved to destroy them: he invited them to dinner and intoxicating them with strong liquor, he had the palace gates shut when all were killed with the exception of a few who climbed the walls and so escaped.

At this time, A. D. 1739, Jagat Ráma, the son of Satra Mánik, who had long lived an exile from his country at Dacca, induced the Nawáb of Dacca to send an army to enforce his claims to the throne of Tripurá, he promising to pay up the arrears of tribute; the Muham-

* This statement of Murshidábád being the capital contradicts the accounts of the historians that until 1704 Jaffier Khán did not remove the seat of government from Dacca to Murshidábád, which received its name from Murshid Kuli Khán. However mention is made of the place in the reign of Akbar.

madan troops however were defeated, but in a second invasion the Rájá fled and Jagat Ráma was made Rájá, a large body of Moslem troops was stationed in Tripurá, its name was changed to Raushanábád, or city of light: as it was an essential part of the Moslem polity wherever they gained an ascendancy to alter the names of persons and places, like the Russians with their Panslavism, they aimed at making the Arabic language as well as religion predominant wherever the Crescent shone. In a similar way the Muhammadans in India made a knowledge of Persian a *sine quá non* as a qualification for office, their great policy was to denationalize the Hindus by discouraging the study of the Sanskrita and Vernacular languages,—but after the operation of this system for six centuries in Bengal, what has been the result? When the glorious measure of Lord W. Bentinck was promulgated, directing the Vernaculars to be the language of the Courts, Persian found few advocates except in interested Amlas and Maulavis who realised their profits by mystifying the people through the veil of a foreign language. Persian as a branch of education is almost extinct in Bengal except in a few Madrassás.

By ingratiating himself with* Jagat Seṭ, the wealthy banker of Murshidábád, the old Rájá regained his throne, and reigned for eighteen years subsequently; he had the Mahábhárat and other old books translated for him. His son succeeded him and refusing to pay tribute he was taken prisoner, but to avoid further indignities he poisoned himself. Jaya Mánik succeeded, but the eldest son of the late Rájá, who had long resided at Murshidábád, through his influence with the Nawáb gained the throne, promising to pay up the arrears of tribute; but he did not remain long on it, an intrigue was formed against him at the Court of Murshidábád, and Indra Mánik was placed on the throne by the Nawáb, an intrigue was formed against

* *Jagat Seṭ*, or the banker of the world, a title he received from the Court of Delhi, was a member of a Jain family, as famous for banking transactions as the Rothschilds; Burke said of them that their transactions were as extensive as the Bank of England. Holding the purse strings they possessed almost unlimited influence at Murshidabad which continued until the Exchequer was removed to Calcutta in 1772. At one period when the Mahráttás plundered Murshidábád Jagat Seṭ lost one crore of Rupees, but the loss seemed to trouble him little, he had so much treasure in store.

him also at the Nawáb's Court, but he went in person to the Nawáb promising to pay the arrears; he obtained a certificate of his proficiency in the Persian language. He died after a reign of four years.

Bijaya Mánik was appointed Rájá by the Nawáb with a salary of 12,000 Rs. monthly, on the stipulation of sending all the revenue to Murshidábád—but falling into arrears he was sent prisoner to the capital, where he died in confinement some time after. Samsher Jang obtained the government and agreed to pay the revenue without any delay, but the people not recognising him as the legitimate heir, he then installed as Rájá, one of the Tripurá family, who resided at Sonárgán, but they still refused; a battle was fought in which Shamsher was victorious; he governed for twelve years with such cruelty and caused such loud complaints to be raised on account of his atrocities that the Nawáb had him seized and blown from the mouth of a gun. Kishen Mánik succeeded. The Dewán of the Nawáb collected all his forces at Chittagan and advanced against the Rájá of Tripurá who was defeated at Kasbá. He soon after died.

After an interregnum of five years in consequence of disputes as to who should succeed, in which the Kukis were called in by one party as combatants, Durgá Mánik, the Jubarája, received from the English government the Khelat as Rájá in 1808; after four years he proceeded with his family on a pilgrimage to Benares, Prayág; while on his way to Gayá he died near Patna and was burned on the banks of the Ganges. His late rival Ráma Gangá was appointed by the English Goverment Rájá according to the Tripurá laws of succession, though several of his rivals disputed his title by force, the Kyphangs aided one party, but the English soon decided the difficulty. The Rájá sent presents to the Governor General, and on the occasion of his installation gave a maguificent feast; he applied himself then to religious duties, having built a temple at Brindában at an expense of 24,000 rupees. He erected a temple to *S*iva at Gangá Ságar, cleared out the tank there, and gave the rent of several villages for supplying the fourteen gods on that island with boiled rice; the Kukis revolted but were subdued, and consented to pay their usual tribute of coins and ivory. In 1822, the people of Haramba submitted to the English Government, having been previously very much oppressed by the Burmese.

In 1765, Tripurá came under British rule, the income of the Rájá then, was about 300,000 rupees. Krishṇa Mánik was made Rájá by the aid of the English, having succeeded to Shamsher Khán noted for his cruelty and tyranny. He performed the ceremony of tulá and gave away large sums of money, particularly to the paṇdits of *Nadiyá*,* though he could not be as liberal as before, English collectors being appointed in the country. Krishṇa Mánik died after a reign of twenty-three years, there being no Jubarája, his queen ruled the country for some time, but the people did not submit willingly to her sway; she then petitioned Government who confirmed her request that Rájendra Mánik, her nephew, might succeed, which he did A. D. 1785. Cotton was cultivated in Tripurá in his time, and an invasion of the Mugs was repelled, the revenue collected by the English amounted to 1,39,000 Rupees. The Kukis were also punished severely by the Rájá for an inroad made on the country. Rájendra married the daughter of the Rájá of Manipur; he made an image of eight metals which he placed in the sanctuary of Brindában; he became a great devotee, spending four months in prayer to the gods without speaking to any one, he then abdicated the throne and assumed the habit of a Saṇṇyási; he died soon after, having reigned 19 years.

In 1826, the Rájá died, when dying he sent for his spiritual guide and put his *foot on his head*, an *eclipse of the moon* occurred at the same time, which was considered a sure sign that the Rájá would go to heaven; when he became insensible, a sálagrám was placed on his breast. On the occasion of his *S*ráddha 18,000 Rupees were distributed among the poor, which was collected by *subscription*, as the Rájá's brother was too much in debt to afford it. The late Rájá reigned eleven years, he was accomplished in the Persian language, and also serving and firing a

* The paṇdits of Nadiyá have for several centuries exercised considerable influence in the East of Bengal, and in the district of Asám they made great progress in their proselyting efforts, though it is a popular notion that Hinduism admits of no proselytes, yet various instances could be adduced on the opposite side. The fact that the Asámese language is almost a pure derivation of Sanskrita, though the early conquerors the Ahoms were not a Hindu race, shews the powerful ascendancy that Hindu Institutions must have attained at an early period over them: Bráhmaṇism now is stationary in its proceedings, but in former days it seemed as anxious to vend its spiritual wares as are the Mahrwári and Mogul merchants to dispose of their articles in trade.

gun quickly; his bones were sent to Brindábana. The Jubarája Kási Chandra was nominated by the English Government his successor, who sent to him a Khelat of honor consisting of the following articles,—a short sleeved jacket, a large dress, turban, a cloth band to encircle the head, gold band for the head.

The Rájá was noted for his dissipated habits and his respect for the Bráhmaṇs; he died in 1829 after a short reign of three years; his Ráṇi on hearing of his death, committed suicide.

The portion of this history, relating to the English period, contains little matters of interest beyond the squabbles between Rájás and Collectors, expensive marriages and feasts given to Bráhmaṇs by zemindars as deeply involved in debt as some of our Chowringhee magnates.

There are a few points omitted in this history which are rather singular—no mention is made of Dacca though it carried on a trade with the Romans, and its muslins were used by the ladies of Rome in the days of the Cæsars. No reference is made to Buddhism, though it was at one period the predominant religion in Bengal, and extended its sway from the Indian Ocean to the frontiers of China: this may be accounted for, perhaps, on the ground that those chronicles were composed by Bráhmaṇs who may have adopted in them their usual policy of taking little notice of their religious opponents, passing over their history in contemptuous silence.

WHO WROTE THE EARLIER WAVERLEY NOVELS?

5,

AN ESSAY,

SHOWING, ON EVIDENCE AMOUNTING TO MORAL DEMONSTRATION, THAT

SIR WALTER SCOTT'S RELATION TO

WAVERLEY, GUY MANNERING, ROB ROY, THE ANTIQUARY, AND THE TALES OF MY LANDLORD,

WAS

THAT OF AN EDITOR.

BY

WILLIAM JOHN FITZPATRICK.

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☞ *The Reader is requested to consult the Appendix, which contains some important letters, and facts, which had not reached the Editor in time to embody in the text.*

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS,

ON THE

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"There is more in this pamphlet than the reader might expect from its long and not very inviting title. But once obtained a hearing, there are few who will not listen with the greatest interest to the whole of the Author's unexpected and remarkable communications. He proclaims that Sir Walter Scott was indebted to his brother Thomas, and his sister-in-law, for a large portion of his literary materials. Some remarkable facts are adduced in evidence. Some really curious disclosures are made. Whatever may be the result of the public prosecution of the inquiry, no imputation rests upon the good faith of Scott, apart from the habitual mystery sustained as to his novels; nor is there the romotest idea of detracting from the genius and power universally recognized in his writings."—*Literary Gazette.*

"The author has collected his materials with great industry, and arranged them with great ingenuity."—*Notes and Queries.*

"As soon, a month ago, we should have expected to have been assailed with the old nursery questions, 'Who killed Cock Robin?' 'Who was the father of Zebedee's children?' as to have propounded to us the daring inquiry, 'Who wrote the Waverley Novels?' Having, however, studied the former penmanship of this audacious sceptic, who is neither more or less than the writer of the charming life of the good Lord Cloncurry, which we devoured some months since with the most intense pleasure, we felt bound carefully to sift and weigh what he had to say before we 'flared-up' in national indignation, like some of our contemporaries. Having done so most attentively, we are bound to confess that he has reasons to give for the doubts that are in him. We find not only something but *much* in them. W. J. F. does not, as the firemen of the press, who are rushing forward with their small engines to extinguish the conflagration which he has kindled, assert, try or attempt to pluck off the splendid plumage of the great author, and leave him exposed before the world like the immortal jackdaw of the fable. He only thinks that some of the most brilliant feathers which adorn the noble bird, in addition to its own glorious clothing, may have belonged and be traced to another quarter. And this he has certainly proved. The case, stands on as curious and strong a collection of facts, correspondence, coincidences, and circumstantial evidence, as we ever recollect seeing brought together. We were exceedingly amused with one feature in this new 'Battle of the Books.' As soon as ever W. J. F. had started his doubts, Mr. Francis Ballantyne put forth a counter manifesto, saying, only in more words, with the witch in Macbeth, 'I'll do, I'll do, I'll do.' But the result has amply proved that he is neither witch nor conjuror. When his promised refutation appeared, it turned out to be a very popgun, the lightest of all light artillery, blank firing with no shot, and 'no nothing,' putting weak questions and effecting faint denials, with, to use his own word, a 'rickety' joke or two, and then a baffled retreat from the Redan which he has failed to carry. Meanwhile, W. J. F., with trumpets flourishing, and lance in rest, is in the lists, waiting, like a good knight and true, to do his *devoirs* with all comers."—*Liverpool Albion.*

"Full of extraordinary interest. Whatever additional light may be thrown by others upon the subject, with Mr. Fitzpatrick remains the honour of a highly interesting discovery."—*Bolton Chronicle.*

(For further Opinions see the other end of the Wrapper.)